

[VCH Wiltshire, vol. XXI, Clarendon Park by Rosalind Johnson, draft completed June 2024]

CLARENDON PARK

LANDSCAPE, SETTLEMENT AND BUILDINGS

Clarendon Park, an extra-parochial liberty, was formerly a medieval royal hunting park. It passed from royal control in the 17th century, becoming a private country estate, which it remains into the 21st century. Its extent in 1847 was 4,132 a.,¹ an acreage which has remained largely unchanged since, with the exception of some plots of land sold in the southern part of the estate in the late 19th century.² A civil parish, also called Clarendon Park, was created in 1858, and enlarged in 1884 to incorporate land to the south of the estate boundaries. The term 'Clarendon Park' is used to refer both to the estate and to the civil parish; this account will focus on the area covered by the modern civil parish.³

The term 'Forest of Clarendon' referred to the royal forest of Clarendon, otherwise known as the forest of Penchet, Pauncet or Panshett, meaning 'the end of the wood'.⁴ The royal hunting park of Clarendon Park was contained within the wider Forest of Clarendon.⁵

The early boundaries of the park are unknown, but could have been formed, if still somewhat ill-defined, in the early medieval period, when it has been suggested that Saxon kings used the area as a hunting ground.⁶ It is possible that the park at the time of the Norman conquest encompassed only the northern part of the present estate, boundaried by the steep east to west scarp that runs across the park, and by the palace site on the south, but this remains unresolved.⁷ By c.1319 forest assarts were included in the south-eastern areas of the park, and by the early 14th century the park had reached its largest extent,

¹ R.E. Sandell (ed.), *Abstracts of Wiltshire Tithe Apportionments*, (WRS 30, 1975), 37–8 (no. 75).

² T.B. James and C. Gerrard, *Clarendon: Landscape of Kings* (Macclesfield, 2007), 155.

³ For the civil parish boundaries, see <https://www.planning.data.gov.uk/dataset/parish> (accessed 7 May 2024).

⁴ *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 12–13; Elrington (ed.), *Feet of Fines 1327–77*, 105 (no. 428), 136 (no. 575); James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 40–1; TNA, DL 39/2/20

⁵ For the Forest of Clarendon and its boundaries, see *VCH Wilts.*, IV, 427–31, 454, 455. According to this source, the term 'Forest of Clarendon' could also refer collectively to a group of royal forests in south east Wiltshire and in Hampshire, these being the forests of Clarendon and Melchet (both Wilts.) and that of Buckholt (Hants).

⁶ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 44.

⁷ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 47.

defined by a huge encircling earthwork, the park pale.⁸ The park boundaries lack features such as rivers or marshy areas, though James and Gerrard have noted that the northern boundary 'made use of the break of slope on Cockey Down', where they note evidence for earlier (Bronze Age to Romano-British) activity.⁹ The boundary earthworks continued to define the extent of the estate into the early modern period, and surviving portions are still visible in the 21st century.¹⁰

In 1665 the park was described as bordered by parishes of Laverstock, Winterbourne Earls, Pitton, West Grimstead, Alderbury, and St Martin's Salisbury.¹¹ It remained extra-parochial for religious purposes, but in 1858 the civil parish of Clarendon Park was created.¹² By an order of 1884, part of the civil parish of Laverstock and Ford was transferred to that of Clarendon Park.¹³ This extended the boundaries of Clarendon Park civil parish to land south of Petersfinger and the former Salisbury to Southampton turnpike road. The following account will refer to the area of the civil parish of Clarendon Park as constituted from 1884.

Clarendon Park is noted for the remains of the medieval Clarendon Palace. It was at Clarendon Palace in 1164 that Henry II framed the Constitutions of Clarendon which limited clerical powers, and which led to a serious rift with Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. In 1166 the Assize of Clarendon established jury presentment in every township and vill.¹⁴ The palace was in a dilapidated state by the late 16th century, and by the 18th century was in ruins. A new mansion house was built in the early 18th century some two kilometres south east from the palace site. The park and palace attracted antiquarian interest in the 17th century from John Aubrey, in the 18th from William Stukeley, and in the early years of the 19th century from John Britton.¹⁵ Thomas Phillipps excavated the palace

⁸ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 47, 49.

⁹ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 50.

¹⁰ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 50–1. For maps of the boundaries of Clarendon Forest and Clarendon Park, see *VCH Wilts.*, IV, 454, 455.

¹¹ HRO, 193M85/145.

¹² Youngs, *Admin. Units*, 535. See also Religious History.

¹³ Fitzmaurice and W.L. Bown, *The Boundaries of the Administrative County of Wilts* (1920), 13.

¹⁴ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 3.

¹⁵ J. Aubrey, *Aubrey's Natural History of Wiltshire: A Reprint of The Natural History of Wiltshire by John Aubrey* (New York, 1969), 36–7, 59; J. Aubrey, *Monumenta Britannica*, part 3, J. Fowles (ed.) (Sherborne, 1982); W. Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, 2nd edn (London, 1776), 137–8; J. Britton, *The Beauties of Wiltshire*, vol. I (London, 1801), 117–25.

site in 1820, revealing much of its plan.¹⁶ The palace site was the subject of further archaeological excavations in the 20th century, notably the large-scale excavations of the 1930s, with further digs in the 1960s and 1990s.¹⁷ More recent excavations took place in 2019.¹⁸

Variant spellings of the term Clarendon, or Clarendon Park, include Clarendun (1072),¹⁹ Clarendonam, Clarendona (both 1130),²⁰ and Claryngdon (1396, 1466).²¹ Three variant spellings, Clarendon, Clarindon or Claringdon Parke, were recorded in 1708.²² Its meaning has been interpreted from an Old English name to mean ‘clover-grown hill’ or alternatively to be a Celtic river-name, possibly an earlier name of the river Bourne.²³ The place-name element *dŭn* is found in high and hilly places, and this may be significant at Clarendon, which is partly situated on an area of high ground.²⁴

The geology is primarily, in the north and central part of Clarendon Park, chalk with flints. Towards the east of the park is an area of clay with flints. Clay beds characterise the south of the park.²⁵

Communications

There was no post office or shop on the Clarendon Park estate, but by 1939 there was a shop in the settlement of Clarendon, on the Southampton road within the civil parish.²⁶ As the nearest post office to the forty houses at Clarendon was two miles distant in Alderbury, in 1943 the parish council proposed a post office in the shop, as well as a public telephone to serve the inhabitants.²⁷ The proposal for the post office was unsuccessful, owing to the small numbers who would benefit, though a telephone kiosk was eventually installed in 1955.²⁸

¹⁶ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 170.

¹⁷ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 171–9.

¹⁸ Friends of Clarendon Palace, *Clarendon: Landscape, Palace and Mansion*, rev. edn (Gloucester, 2023), 45–7.

¹⁹ J.H. Round, *Feudal England: historical studies on the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (London, 1964), 238.

²⁰ 31 Hen. I Pipe R 1130 (PRS New Series 57), 1, 13.

²¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1396–1399, 3–4; *Cal. Pat.* 1461–1467, 512. See also *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 375.

²² HRO, 193M85/160.

²³ *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 376; M. Gelling and A. Cole, *The Landscape of Place Names* (Stamford: 2000), 171.

²⁴ M. Gelling, *Place Names in the Landscape* (London, 1984), 149.

²⁵ Geol. Surv. map, 1:63,360, drift, sheet 298 (1950 edn).

²⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1939), 77.

²⁷ WSA, 3529/5/2, 9.

²⁸ WSA, 3529/5/2, 28, 63.

A bus service from Salisbury to Southampton is known by 1921. Probably running through Alderbury along what was then the main Salisbury to Southampton road, it would have served the southern part of the civil parish. A Salisbury to Southampton service continued to run in 1927.²⁹ There were issues in 1957 with the lack of an afternoon return service from Salisbury to the settlement at Clarendon on Tuesdays and Saturdays.³⁰ In 1983 the parish council discussed the lack of evening and Sunday buses serving the parish.³¹

The few inhabitants of the northern part of the estate may have used bus services running from Farley or Pitton. In 1927 a service ran between Farley and Salisbury, via Alderbury, and two services ran between Pitton and Salisbury.³²

Footpaths

In 1837 it was reported that there were no public footpaths in Clarendon Park.³³ Nevertheless, the inhabitants of neighbouring settlements were accustomed to using footpaths across the estate. James William Garton, who bought the estate in 1900, had by July 1901 obstructed some footpaths across the estate, adversely affecting the residents of Alderbury, Farley, Pitton and Winterslow who used these paths.³⁴ Locks had been placed on gates to prevent access to the paths, which were knocked off by protestors.³⁵ The case was brought to the attention of the rural district council, which issued court proceedings against Garton. The proceedings eventually drew to a conclusion in 1903, resulting in a partial victory for both sides. The path from Farley and Pitton to Salisbury was deemed a public right of way, though not the path from Farley and Pitton to Alderbury.³⁶

Roads

A medieval or earlier route from Salisbury to Winchester ran through Milford and Clarendon Park. This may be the origin of the name Winchester Street in Salisbury, and the reason for

²⁹ C. Morris and A. Waller, *The definitive history of Wilts & Dorset Motor Services Ltd, 1915-1972* (East Knoyle, 2006), 21; *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1927), 24.

³⁰ WSA, 3539/5/2, 75. Tuesdays and Saturdays were market days in Salisbury, see J. Chandler, *Salisbury: history around us* (Gloucester, 2020), 63.

³¹ WSA, 3539/5/3, 24 Mar. [1983].

³² *Kelly's Dir. Wilts.* (1927), 117.

³³ R. Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, vol. 5 (London, 1837), 171–2.

³⁴ *Salisbury Times*, 19 Jul. 1901, 7.

³⁵ *Salisbury Times*, 30 May. 1902, 8.

³⁶ WSA, G11/141/1; *Salisbury Times*, 17 Apr. 1903, 5.

the construction of a bridge at Milford. Winchester Gate appears to have still existed on the north-east of Clarendon Park in 1773, suggesting the existence of a route towards that city, but there was no longer a major road through the park.³⁷ In 1837 it was stated that there were no public roads on the estate.³⁸ It was certainly the case that no public roads ran directly across the estate, and this remained the case in 2024.

One major road, the Salisbury to Eling turnpike road, ran on the southern boundary of the estate, and the tithe map of 1851 appears to show a short section of this road cutting across the extreme south-east portion of Hole Farm, one of the estate farms.³⁹ On the creation of the Sarum to Eling turnpike trust in 1753 a tollhouse was built at Petersfinger, at that time in Laverstock historic parish, but on the boundary with the Clarendon Park estate. The road was disturnpiked in 1871.⁴⁰ After the civil parish boundary changes in 1884, the former tollhouse was within the boundary of the civil parish of Clarendon Park, and the former turnpike road ran through the southern edge of the civil parish, before passing through the parish of Alderbury.⁴¹ The road, the main road between Salisbury and Southampton, was classified as the A36, c.1922.⁴² Plans to re-route the A36 to bypass Alderbury directly affected Clarendon Park civil parish, and were discussed from 1971 onwards; construction was taking place by 1977, and was completed by 1978.⁴³

Railways

In 1846 the South Western Railway Company cut a railway track through the south-western corner of the park. A brick and stone viaduct bridged the avenue north of the West Lodge, allowing access from houses and farmsteads in the south-western corner to the rest of the estate.⁴⁴ No railway station or halt was constructed, but the Bathursts appear to have invested the money from the sale of the land to the railway company in new buildings and

³⁷ *VCH Wilts.*, VI, 79; *Andrews' and Dury's Map 1773*, plate 6.

³⁸ Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, vol. 5, 171–2.

³⁹ Tithe award and map, 1851. On turnpike roads in Wiltshire, see *VCH Wilts.*, IV, 256–71.

⁴⁰ Tithe award and map, Laverstock, 1842; R. Haynes and I. Slocombe, *Wiltshire Toll Houses* (East Knoyle, 2004), 30–1.

⁴¹ WSA, 3539/5/1, 27 Mar. 1906.

⁴² SABRE, '1922 Road Lists,' https://www.sabre-roads.org.uk/wiki/index.php?title=1922_Road_Lists (accessed 17 Apr. 2024).

⁴³ WSA, 3539/5/2, 114 (28 Apr. 1971); WSA, 3539/5/3, 11 Mar. 1977, 13 Oct. 1978.

⁴⁴ NHLE, no. 1300409, Railway viaduct (accessed 17 Apr. 2024). On West Lodge, see below, Built character.

renovations on the estate.⁴⁵ The line remained in use in 2024 as the railway line between Salisbury, via Romsey, to Southampton.

Population

In 1801 there were 22 families living in the liberty of Clarendon Park, in total 129 persons.⁴⁶ The population rose gradually during the first half of the 19th century to 187 in 1851, and to 217 in 1881, and 244 in 1891. It decreased slightly to 228 in 1901 but rose in 1911 to 296 persons. Some increase in population after 1884 can be attributed to the addition of part of Laverstock and Ford civil parish to Clarendon Park civil parish. The nature of Clarendon Park, being largely a private estate with tenant farms, meant that the population remained small; 315 inhabitants in 1951, and 282 in 1961.⁴⁷

Settlement

Possible early prehistoric settlement at Clarendon Park is indicated by scatters of flint, but settlement prior to the Neolithic (c.4,000–2,200 BC) remains largely unknown.⁴⁸ However, an important Neolithic site, that of Fussell's Lodge long barrow, lies towards the north-east of the park. It was a substantial structure, in which the remains of about 55 individuals are known to have been interred.⁴⁹ Another long barrow is known on Cockey Down, and two further barrows may have existed within the park boundary. A number of Neolithic artefacts, including flints and part of a polished greenstone axe, have been recovered from several sites on the estate.⁵⁰ Burials of single individuals in round barrows are known from the late Neolithic (after 3,000 BC) and continued into the Bronze Age (c.2,000–800 BC). Further barrows have been identified from cropmarks visible from aerial photography. At Petersfinger, on the western boundary of the estate, workmen digging a trench in 1941 discovered an inhumation cemetery with two human skeletons and sherds of Bronze Age pottery. Further Bronze Age artefacts have been found elsewhere on the estate. It is probable that by c.2,000 BC much of the chalk downland in the north-west of the estate was

⁴⁵ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 150; Orbach and Pevsner, *Wilts.*, 239.

⁴⁶ T. Davies, *General View of the Agriculture of Wiltshire* (London, 1811), 222.

⁴⁷ Census 1851, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1951, 1961.

⁴⁸ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 15–17, 19.

⁴⁹ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 17; *VCH Wilts.*, I, part 2, 310.

⁵⁰ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 17–19.

open land, rather than woodland, although evidence for agriculture at this period within the boundaries of the present estate is limited.⁵¹ Later field boundaries, probably middle Bronze Age (1,500–1,000 BC) have been identified within the park boundaries. By the later Bronze Age there were several areas of settlement, with associated arable and pasture, linked by trackways.⁵²

An Iron Age (800 BC–mid 1st century AD) settlement is known at Cockey Down. This may have been temporarily abandoned in the middle of the period during a shift to a more pastoral economy, but by the pre-Roman Iron Age (1st centuries BC/AD) settlement here and elsewhere in the park had been re-established. John Aubrey wrote of Roman coins being found at Clarendon Park, and there is evidence for five Romano-British farmsteads, and a Roman villa at Great Gilbert's Copse.⁵³

Evidence for post-Roman and early medieval settlement is sparse, and it appears that there was a major dislocation in settlement, economy and land use in the centuries after c.AD 400. Archaeological evidence for the period is largely confined to the Petersfinger cemetery on the western boundary of the park. This was possibly two separate cemeteries, both dating from the 5th to 7th centuries, serving two distinct settlements of unknown location, although there may have been links to a community at Britford on the other side of the river Avon. Grave goods included jewellery, knives, keys, spearheads and swords; some artefacts have been identified as having 'Frankish' affinities, but any attempts to link these artefacts to Germanic invaders or settlers remains conjectural.⁵⁴ Though the evidence for early medieval settlement within Clarendon Park remains uncertain, place-name evidence suggests continued agricultural activity.⁵⁵ It is possible that the lack of settlement evidence in the early middle ages reflects the early development of the park as a royal hunting ground, although this remains unproven.⁵⁶

Nevertheless, it is probably that the park was in royal hands by 1070, when William the Conqueror mustered troops here, and his son Henry I (r. 1100–35) further developed the park.⁵⁷ As a medieval royal hunting ground, permanent settlement was limited to

⁵¹ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 18–22.

⁵² James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 23.

⁵³ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 24–36; Aubrey, *Monumenta Britannica*, 971.

⁵⁴ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 37–9; *VCH Wilts.*, I, part 1, 58.

⁵⁵ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 40–1.

⁵⁶ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 40–4.

⁵⁷ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 45.

keepers and other staff responsible for the care and maintenance of the estate, a population temporarily increased when the royal court was in residence. After the estate passed into private hands there was some development of farms from the later 17th century onwards, and by 1750 the estate had been transformed into an agricultural estate worked from scattered farmsteads.⁵⁸ As a private estate, Clarendon Park has continued to retain its rural character into the 21st century.

There were small areas of settlement outside the estate boundaries, but within those of the 20th century civil parish. There was a small settlement at Peter's Finger, later Petersfinger, in 1773; this would have included the tollhouse of 1753. A farm may also have been there in 1773, and was certainly there by 1842.⁵⁹ Further to the south-east, along the former turnpike road to Southampton, a settlement, Clarendon, developed in the early 20th century. There were 40 houses here in 1943, although this figure probably included those further along what was then the Southampton road through Alderbury.⁶⁰ Following the opening of the Alderbury by-pass in 1978, the road at this point became a minor road, accessed from the new turning to Alderbury and the former Southampton road; it was renamed Marshmead Close in 1979.⁶¹

Built character

As a royal hunting ground, and later as a private estate, Clarendon Park has few buildings beyond the palace ruins, the mansion house and its associated structures, and the farm buildings and estate cottages.⁶² Lodges, or keeper's cottages, are recorded on the estate from the medieval period. Building work took place at a lodge in 1341–4.⁶³ In 1570–1 it was recorded that oaks were to be felled to repair the old lodge. By 1603–7 six houses or lodges in the park, as well as a hay barn and a well-house, were all in need of repair.⁶⁴ A survey of 1650 recorded nine dwelling houses, although the house known as King's Manor appears to

⁵⁸ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 127–31.

⁵⁹ *Andrews' and Dury's Map 1773*, plate 6; tithe map and award, Laverstock, 1842. On the toll house, see above, Roads.

⁶⁰ WSA, 3539/5/2, 8–10 (21 Apr. 1943).

⁶¹ WSA, 3539/5/3, 23 Mar. 1979.

⁶² For Clarendon Palace and the mansion house, see Landownership.

⁶³ TNA, E 101/593/18; E 101/593/19, m. 4.

⁶⁴ TNA, E 101/542/21.

have been unoccupied and in need of substantial repair.⁶⁵ The extant buildings on the estate largely date from the 17th to 19th centuries.⁶⁶

Three gate lodges to the estate survive. The West Lodge of 1837–8, on the former main road between Salisbury and Southampton, is probably by A.W.N. Pugin, reputedly his first private commission, and situated on the same road as the house he built for himself, St Marie's (or St Mary's) Grange.⁶⁷ Pitton Lodge was built, c.1750, with later 19th century extensions.⁶⁸ Alderbury Lodge is of probable mid-19th century date.⁶⁹

The Second World War saw a number of military installations within Clarendon Park, including a dummy airfield to distract enemy aircraft from the airfield at Old Sarum, searchlight stations, and a tank-trap ditch. The dummy airfield went out of use in 1942, but its 'control bunker' was still visible in 2007.⁷⁰

Some notable 19th century buildings survive outside the estate, but within the civil parish boundaries. A gate lodge in late 19th century Arts and Crafts style survives at the entrance to the drive to Chowringhee House. The house itself was built in 1898, on land formerly part of the estate.⁷¹ At Petersfinger is Hughenden Manor, a late Victorian brick villa with a cast-iron veranda.⁷²

On the boundary between Clarendon Park and Alderbury civil parishes, St Marie's Grange, of 1835, was Pugin's first complete work, a brick dwelling which pioneered the Gothic revival style, elements of its design reflecting his medievalism and recent conversion to Catholicism. The original building was accessed by a drawbridge, and had a chapel and stair tower. In 1837, after Pugin left to live in London, it was altered on his instructions to make it more attractive to potential purchasers. This included a new front entrance, additional windows, and the removal of the drawbridge.⁷³

⁶⁵ TNA, E 317/Wilts.27.

⁶⁶ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 123–31.

⁶⁷ Orbach and Pevsner, *Wilts.*, 238; J. Holden, *Wiltshire Gate Lodges* (Gloucester, 2018), 71; James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 148; NHLE, no. 1023952, West Lodge and gates, Clarendon Park (accessed 17 Apr. 2024).

⁶⁸ J. Holden, *Wiltshire Gate Lodges*, 71; James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 152; NHLE, no. 1183879, Pitton Lodge (accessed 17 Apr. 2024).

⁶⁹ J. Holden, *Wiltshire Gate Lodges*, 71.

⁷⁰ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 163.

⁷¹ J. Holden, *Wiltshire Gate Lodges*, 71; Wiltshire Museum, DZSWS:SC.49.36.

⁷² Orbach and Pevsner, *Wilts.*, 398.

⁷³ Orbach and Pevsner, *Wilts.*, 100; NHLE, no. 1023953, St Marie's Grange (accessed 17 Apr. 2024).

LANDOWNERSHIP

Manors and principal estates

The area now known as Clarendon Park may have been designated as a hunting ground as early as the late 7th century, but any Anglo-Saxon use remains speculative.⁷⁴ However, it was already a named site when William the Conqueror mustered troops at Clarendon in 1070, which suggests the park's origins lie before the Norman Conquest of 1066.⁷⁵

It was probably Henry I (r. 1100–35) who defined the boundaries of Clarendon Park. He sealed charters at Clarendon in 1116, and a visit is recorded in 1130.⁷⁶ The exact date of the enclosure of the park is uncertain. In 1223–4, during the minority of Henry III, £50 was expended to enclose the park, but this may have been maintenance work on an existing boundary. The park may not have taken on its final form until the inclusion of forest assarts, c.1319.⁷⁷

The park remained in royal hands throughout the Middle Ages, with regular visits by the court until the mid-15th century. In 1453 Henry VI suffered his first attack of chronic mental illness at Clarendon, and thereafter the park seems to have been used infrequently, although it was visited by both Tudor and early Stuart monarchs; Elizabeth I visited in 1574 and her successor James I hunted in the park.⁷⁸

Following the execution of Charles I in 1649, all royal estates were taken into Parliament's hands. A survey of Clarendon Park made in 1650 gave its extent as 4,397 a., and its annual worth as £1,103 4s. ¼d,⁷⁹ although a survey of 1651 gave its extent as 4,293 a, divided into five divisions of equal value, and worth £1,086 7s. 1d. yearly.⁸⁰ Outside the park boundaries, in 1650 the Clarendon estate also held a royalty over all the swans on part of the river Avon (although the river does not run through the estate), a moiety of the fishing rights on the Avon from the Harnham Bridge to Longford House, and two small osier islands in the Avon, situated in the parish of St Martin's, Salisbury, as well as small amounts

⁷⁴ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 44.

⁷⁵ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 45.

⁷⁶ 31 Hen. I Pipe R 1130 (PRS New Series 57), 1; James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 45–7.

⁷⁷ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 47.

⁷⁸ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 3, 98.

⁷⁹ TNA, E 317/Wilts.27.

⁸⁰ TNA, E 317/Wilts.26. The five divisions were: Rangers, Theobalds, Fussells, Palmers and Hunts.

of rent for a piece of land in Buckholt (Hants.) and for lands in the parish of Pitton adjoining Clarendon Park.⁸¹

On the restoration of Charles II in 1660, the confiscated estate was returned to the crown. It did not remain in royal hands for long, as in 1661 Charles granted Clarendon Park to George Monck, Duke of Albemarle, for his role in restoring Charles to his throne. Exemption clauses in the grant included oak trees that were to provide timber for the navy.⁸² In 1664–5, Albemarle and his wife sold Clarendon Park to Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, for a total payment of £18,000.⁸³ Hyde had been created earl of Clarendon in 1661. It is unclear why he took the title 'Clarendon' before he came into possession of the estate, but he may have been anticipating that he would own the estate. He had been born at Dinton, near Salisbury, and would have known the area well, particularly as his father had taken over the neighbouring manor of Melchet from James I.⁸⁴ The park, or part of it, was let to tenants, but a reference to 'undertenants' implies that subletting was allowed.⁸⁵

Edward Hyde was forced into exile in 1667, and never returned to England. Parts of the park was leased to various individuals during his time in exile, and subsequently by his son and heir Henry.⁸⁶ In 1707 he sold the estate to Frances, Dowager Lady Bathurst, widow of Sir Benjamin Bathurst. She purchased the estate for £24,000, although in order to complete the purchase was required to pay £2,000 to one of Henry's creditors. In 1708 she settled the estate on her son Peter.⁸⁷ The estate was heavily mortgaged by Peter Bathurst and later by his son, also Peter, during the latter half of the 18th century.⁸⁸

Clarendon Park passed through the Bathursts to the end of the 19th century. After the death of the younger Peter Bathurst in 1801 the estate passed to Frederick Hervey, second son of Peter's niece Selina Hervey, on condition that he took the name Bathurst; the family was thereafter known as Hervey-Bathurst.⁸⁹ He was an absentee owner, letting the mansion house, farmland and lodges, although there was some investment in the building and rebuilding of gatehouses. Frederick Hervey-Bathurst died in 1824 and the estate passed

⁸¹ TNA E 317/Wilts.27.

⁸² HRO, 193M85/141.

⁸³ HRO, 193M85/142–3, 145.

⁸⁴ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 104–5.

⁸⁵ HRO, 193M85/142.

⁸⁶ WSA, 302/1; HRO, 193M85/148–150, 152–3.

⁸⁷ HRO, 193M85/160, 162, 177.

⁸⁸ HRO, 193M85/177.

⁸⁹ HRO, 193M85/224; James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 141.

to his son, Frederick Hutchinson Hervey-Bathurst.⁹⁰ The coming of the railway in 1846 saw a small (25 a.) portion of the estate sold by him to the South Western Railway Company; the only part of the estate not in Bathurst hands.⁹¹ On his death in 1881 Clarendon Park passed to his son Frederick Thomas Arthur Hervey-Bathurst. The economic climate had indebted the estate, resulting in Frederick Thomas selling off plots of land south of the railway line.⁹² The family eventually left Clarendon for their house in Somborne Park (Hants.), and by 1898 Clarendon House and the pleasure ground surrounding it were occupied by a tenant, Charles Rose.⁹³

On Frederick Thomas's death in 1900 the estate was sold to James William Garton for £80,000. He held it to 1919, when financial troubles led him to sell.⁹⁴ The new owner, Sydney Richardson Christie-Miller, purchased Clarendon Park for £138,500, and ownership passed down the Christie-Miller family. On Sydney Richardson's death in 1931 the property passed to his son, Samuel Vandeleur Christie-Miller, and on Samuel's death in 1968 to his son, Andrew Christie-Miller, who sold the estate in 2006.⁹⁵

Clarendon Palace

There may have been a building on the palace site by 1070, when William the Conqueror mustered troops at Clarendon. His son, Henry I (r. 1100–35), visited Clarendon and records suggest that there was a royal dwelling on the site.⁹⁶ The site was further developed by Henry II (r. 1154–89). By the late 12th century there was a large aisled hall with service rooms to the west side, while to the east of the hall were the royal apartments, probably including a chapel. The wine cellars date to c.1272. Henry III (r. 1216–72) enlarged the palace adding new apartments, service rooms and chapels. A survey of 1272 found that repairs were needed to much of the palace complex, including roofing and guttering work.⁹⁷ Further building work took place under succeeding monarchs, but the palace complex was largely abandoned by 1500 and the buildings fell into disrepair.⁹⁸

⁹⁰ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 142.

⁹¹ Tithe award 1847.

⁹² James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 155.

⁹³ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 155; *Salisbury Times*, 16 Sept. 1898, 8.

⁹⁴ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 156, 157.

⁹⁵ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 159, 161, 164, 165.

⁹⁶ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 45–7.

⁹⁷ T. Phillpotts, *Survey of the Manor and Forest of Clarendon, Wiltshire, in 1272* (London, 1833), 6–7.

⁹⁸ Orbach and Pevsner, *Wilts.*, 237–8.

As the palace site fell into disuse, materials from the palace may have been taken by local people to repair their own dwellings. William Stukeley, writing c.1723, noted that parts of the palace had been pulled down over many years,⁹⁹ and in 1941 Edith Olivier claimed that stone from the palace could be seen in farm buildings for ten miles around.¹⁰⁰ Stukeley's own drawing showed the palace as a picturesque ruin, and it remains as such in the 21st century.

Clarendon House

A 17th century hunting lodge may have stood on the site of the present Clarendon House, as a 'lodge' is recorded in a lease of 1679,¹⁰¹ but the present house was built for Peter Bathurst, c.1716.¹⁰² The house was substantially altered in 1828–30 to the designs of John Peniston, a Salisbury architect, and an entire new wing added to the existing house.¹⁰³ Further renovations and additions took place in the early 1860s.¹⁰⁴ The 19th century additions were demolished in 1979 and the Christie-Miller family moved into an adjacent house on the estate.¹⁰⁵

ECONOMIC HISTORY

Agriculture

It has been suggested that until the late 13th century, Clarendon Park was primarily a mixed, wood-pasture economy, changing by c.1330 to an economy largely devoted to deer and forestry. Felling of oak trees in 1297–8 may have contributed to a decline in pigs being kept in the park, owing to depleted stocks of mast (acorns) on which they fed.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, animal husbandry appears to have continued in the park, as in 1355 the Prior of Ivychurch claimed the right to pasture cattle in the park, and pigs in the wider forest.¹⁰⁷ Animals were

⁹⁹ W. Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum* (2nd edn) (London, 1776), 138.

¹⁰⁰ E. Olivier, *Country Moods and Tenses* (London, 1941).

¹⁰¹ WSA, 302/2.

¹⁰² Orbach and Pevsner, *Wilts.*, 238.

¹⁰³ M. Cowan (ed.), *The Letters of John Peniston, Salisbury Architect, Catholic and Yeomanry Officer 1823–1830* (WRS 50, 1996), 105 (no. 844), 115 (no. 908), 165 (no. 1273), 211 (no. 1602).

¹⁰⁴ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 150; Orbach and Pevsner, *Wilts.*, 238.

¹⁰⁵ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 164.

¹⁰⁶ A. Richardson, *The Forest, Park and Palace of Clarendon, c.1200-c.1650* (BAR British Series 387), (Oxford, 2005), 40–1.

¹⁰⁷ TNA, E 32/267, m. 18a.

not always pastured legitimately, or with due care. In 1355 William de Pitton was accused of having kept two horses in the park for three years, and the prior of Ivychurch monastery for having kept two horses in the park for two years, among other cases of horses being kept in the park, to the nuisance of the king's deer.¹⁰⁸ In 1487 a man was fined for allowing four of his pigs into the park.¹⁰⁹

As royal visits to Clarendon Park became more infrequent after the reign of Henry VI, there is more evidence of officials having rights of pasture in the park. In the reign of Henry VIII Richard Throckmorton was allowed to pasture 12 cows, a bull and 11 geldings in the park, and was also given right of pannage for pigs; he appears to have been responsible for feeding the king's horses that were kept in the park.¹¹⁰ The keepers' right to pannage was recorded in 1575–7, although it was also alleged that they had been exceeding their privileges by turning their horses out in the coppices; it was further alleged that local people had allowed cattle to break into the park.¹¹¹ It was recorded in 1650 that keepers were allowed certain perquisites in addition to their annual salaries, including the right to pasture for a certain number of cattle and horses.¹¹²

Throughout the 18th century estate, farming was mixed, although individual farms could be predominantly arable or pasture. In 1780 an un-named farm was advertised to let as having 370 a., most of which was pasture and sainfoin which would indicate pastoral agriculture.¹¹³ In 1781 the remainder of a lease on another un-named farm was advertised; the farm had 140 a. of arable, 40 a. of pasture, and a dairy.¹¹⁴ The majority of the population worked on the land; in 1801, of the total population of 129 persons, 82 were chiefly employed in agriculture.¹¹⁵

Estate income in the 19th century came not only from tenant farms, but also from allowing livestock to be pastured on the estate over the summer months. In 1825 both horses and cattle could be kept in the park from May to the end of October, but by 1885

¹⁰⁸ TNA, E 32/267, m. 11.

¹⁰⁹ TNA, DL 39/2/20, m[?16].

¹¹⁰ TNA, E 101/519/22.

¹¹¹ TNA, E 134/18&18 Eliz/Mich I.

¹¹² TNA, E 317/Wilts.27.

¹¹³ *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl.*, 14 Feb. 1780, 3.

¹¹⁴ *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl.*, 22 Jan. 1781, 2.

¹¹⁵ T. Davies, *General View of the Agriculture of Wiltshire* (London, 1811), 222.

only cattle were allowed, and there was no mention of the date by which the animals had to be removed; it was presumably evident to the parties involved.¹¹⁶

In 1837 the total acreage of the Clarendon Park estate was about 4,158 a., of which 3,033 a. was farmland, largely arable, divided into nine farms. Woods and coppices comprised a further 870 a., and meadows and pastureland, including the mansion and its gardens, the remaining 255 a.¹¹⁷ In 1847, when the total acreage was recorded as 4,132 a., the estate had 2,595 a. of arable, 401 a. of meadow and 900 a. of wood; the park comprised another 236 a. Tenant farmers held land of between 191 and 485 a.¹¹⁸

Sheep feature heavily in the farming economy during the later 19th century. In 1867 there were 1,358 sheep and lambs in Clarendon Park, with 137 predominantly dairy cattle and 203 pigs. Crops over 100 a. were turnips and swedes (369 a.), probably for animal feed, as well as wheat (328 a.), barley (279 a.) and oats (226 a.).¹¹⁹ These remained major crops in 1900, although the acreage of turnips and swedes had reduced to 182 a., and wheat to 233 a., while the acreage of vetches and tares had increased to 102½ a. Sheep farming continued to dominate animal husbandry, with 1,962 sheep in the civil parish in 1900. Some dairy farming continued to take place (347 cattle, predominantly dairy) and commercial pig keeping (182 pigs).¹²⁰

In 1918 the estate comprised 13 holdings, of which five were over 300 a. The economy was mixed; oats were the main crop (436½ a.); other crops over 100 a. were wheat (233 a.), turnips and swedes (289 a.) and rape (107 a.). Animal husbandry largely focused on sheep (1,635 animals) and dairy farming (386 cattle, of which 269 were cows or heifers in milk). Pig keeping had declined in significance; only 56 animals were recorded.¹²¹

By 1975 animal husbandry continued to focus on dairy cattle and sheep; there were 1,419 cattle in Clarendon Park, of whom 682 were dairy cattle, and 1,209 sheep. Arable crops over 100 a. comprised wheat (367 ha., or c.907 a.) and barley (213.7 ha., or c.528 a.) and oats (48 ha., or c.119 a.).¹²²

¹¹⁶ *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl.*, 2 May 1825, 4; *Salisbury Times*, 2 May 1885, 5.

¹¹⁷ Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, vol. 5, 172.

¹¹⁸ Sandell (ed.), *Wiltshire Tithe Apportionments*, 37–8 (no. 75).

¹¹⁹ TNA, MAF 68/151. There were 63 a. of vetches.

¹²⁰ TNA, MAF 68/1861. The acreages of barley (233 a.) and oats (235 a.) remained broadly comparable with those of 1867.

¹²¹ TNA, MAF 68/2887.

¹²² TNA, MAF 68/5454.

Deer

As a royal hunting park, deer were of fundamental importance to Clarendon Park in the medieval period, both for hunting by the court when the monarch was in residence, and at other times as gifts from the king. The park was enclosed with a 'pale'; a fence on top of a bank surrounding the park. Deer-leaps, or leap-gates, were constructed at intervals along the fence to allow deer to enter the park, but not to leave it. The importance of maintaining the supply for deer is shown in the many references to repairs to the park pale. In 1272 the park was described as 'badly inclosed'.¹²³ The bailiff's accounts of 1318–24 include references repairs to the park pale.¹²⁴ Repairs to the park pale continued into the 16th century, even though the park was rarely visited by the court. In 1570–1, oaks were felled for its repair.¹²⁵ A survey of repairs dating from 1603–7 described repairs as being urgently needed to the park pale in order to preserve the king's game.¹²⁶

Supplementary winter feed was provided for the deer by the 16th century. In the 1530s and 1540s cartloads of hay were provided for their sustenance,¹²⁷ and in 1572 browse was cut down for their feed.¹²⁸

By 1650 there were an estimated 3,000 deer within the park, worth £3,000, although another survey the following year estimated only 500 deer, worth £500.¹²⁹ The park was described as 'impaled' in 1650, which implies that the park pale was still standing, and the existence of a brick and timber stand, albeit in a poor condition, probably for spectators to view the deer hunt, or for the hunters themselves, is evidence of deer coursing having taken place in the recent past.¹³⁰ But by 1661 there were said to be no deer left in Clarendon Park due to the late 'Troubles'.¹³¹

¹²³ T. Phillipps, *Survey of the Manor and Forest of Clarendon, Wiltshire, in 1272* (London, 1833), 7.

¹²⁴ TNA, SC 6/1050/5, mm. 1–2.

¹²⁵ TNA, E 101/140/11, m. 8.

¹²⁶ TNA, E 101/542/21

¹²⁷ TNA, E 101/595/20, 22, 23, 25.

¹²⁸ TNA, E 101/140/11, m. 10.

¹²⁹ TNA, E 317/Wilts.26; E 317/Wilts.27.

¹³⁰ TNA, E 317/Wilts.27.

¹³¹ HRO, 193M85/141.

Deer ceased to be an important part of the park's economy thereafter. However, in what appears to have been an isolated advertisement, in 1812 a lot of 40 red and 300 fallow deer were offered for sale.¹³²

Rabbits

Rabbits could be a highly profitable animal, both for their flesh and for their skins. Artificial pillow (warren) mounds have not been identified at Clarendon Park, but rabbit farming was nevertheless on a large scale.¹³³ Rabbits are certainly identified in Clarendon Forest by 1355, and were probably in the park at this date.¹³⁴ Surviving 15th century accounts testify to the importance of the activity.¹³⁵ A warren had been established at Clarendon by the beginning of the 17th century, but was destroyed c.1603–4 on the orders of the king, James I, for the better enjoyment of hunting on the estate.¹³⁶

Illicit taking of rabbits was recorded from the 15th century onwards. In 1487 Robert Rolfe, a husbandman of the nearby parish of West Grimstead, was accused of going into Clarendon Park with a net to catch rabbits.¹³⁷ Newspaper accounts of the late 19th and early 20th centuries record several cases of poaching.¹³⁸

Forestry

Timber and coppice wood, were significant contributors to the park's economy from at least the 14th century.¹³⁹ Wood and timber might be granted as a perquisite of office, as in 1570–71, when old trees were felled for the warden's firewood, and it was recorded that the keepers and other park employees were to take a certain amount of firewood.¹⁴⁰ In the absence of any effective oversight, the right to an estover allowance could be abused; a special commission of 1579–80 investigated claims that the earl of Pembroke and others had been taking substantially more than their allowance.¹⁴¹ Records of the late 16th and

¹³² *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl*, 16 Mar. 1812, 1.

¹³³ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 59.

¹³⁴ TNA, E 32/267, mm. 6d.

¹³⁵ TNA, SC 6/1050/14; 17–20; 22. See also James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 59.

¹³⁶ TNA, E 178/4728; J. Bettley (ed.), *Wiltshire Farming in the Seventeenth Century* (WRS 57, 2005), 311–12. The king had reputedly fallen from his horse elsewhere because of a rabbit hole.

¹³⁷ TNA, DL 39/2/20, m. [?16].

¹³⁸ For example, *Salisbury Times*, 6 Dec. 1884, 2; 6 Feb. 1903, 7.

¹³⁹ TNA, E 101/140/6; SC 6/1050/5, mm. 1–2.

¹⁴⁰ TNA, E 101/140/11, m. 8.

¹⁴¹ TNA, E 178/2417. An estover was the right to take wood for fuel or repairs.

early 17th century show how the wood from individual coppices was sold to multiple purchasers, including not only individuals, but also local parishes.¹⁴²

In 1661 it was claimed that a great part of the wood and timber had been destroyed in the late 'Troubles' and parts of the coppice woodland had been ploughed up. Nevertheless, the park still contained about 2,500 mature and 2,000 young timber oaks, with about 3,000 oak saplings and many other trees.¹⁴³

In the 19th century coppice wood was sold in the autumn,¹⁴⁴ and timber trees usually in June; an advertisement from June 1861 particularly recommended the oak for shipbuilding.¹⁴⁵

Other industries

Tiles were made on the palace site in the mid-13th century; a kiln was found during excavations in 1937, with associated waster tiles matching those in the king's chapel.¹⁴⁶ Most domestic pottery found at the palace site appears to have come from local kilns at Laverstock, just outside the park.¹⁴⁷

A small gun-flint industry existed at Clarendon. The flint came from a chalk pit at the side of a road, and the flints were finished off on the sunny opposite side of the road. It is not known when the industry began, but it appears to have ceased by 1870.¹⁴⁸ It is possible that the labourer who in 1788 illicitly dug for flints on the land of farmer Robert Reeves at Clarendon was part of this industry.¹⁴⁹

Clay was extracted from pits in the park, as evidenced by field names such as 'Clay Hills Ground' and 'Claypit Ground' in the south of the estate, shown on a map of 1713.¹⁵⁰ A 1773 lease of Brick Kiln farm referred to clay pits.¹⁵¹ There is likely to have been clay extraction in the 17th century, as in 1651 a 'Brickilne Cockroad' was recorded, indicating

¹⁴² TNA, E 101/140/12, 14.

¹⁴³ HRO, 193M85/141.

¹⁴⁴ For example, *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl.*, 25 Nov. 1765, 3; 1 Oct. 1857, 4; 27 Nov. 1880, 4; 15 Nov. 1893, 4.

¹⁴⁵ *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl.*, 1 June 1861, 4; 11 June 1870, 4.

¹⁴⁶ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 84, 174.

¹⁴⁷ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 90.

¹⁴⁸ M.J.F. Fowler and H.J. Needham, 'Gun-flint Industries in the Salisbury Region', *WAM* 88 (1995), 140.

¹⁴⁹ *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl.*, 28 Jan. 1788, 2.

¹⁵⁰ Reproduced in James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 117.

¹⁵¹ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 118, citing WSA, 130/16.

possible brickmaking in the park, and the industry would have needed a supply of clay.¹⁵² Commercial brickmaking is known at Clarendon Park by 1765, when Charles and Peter Harden dissolved their partnership.¹⁵³ Bricks stamped CLARENDON have been found on the estate, and may have been produced for the remodelling and extension of the mansion house from 1828 onwards.¹⁵⁴ Mussell and Moody's brickyard at Clarendon Park is known by 1883; it supplied bricks, tiles, drain pipes and other materials for house building.¹⁵⁵ The business was taken over by Hand and Sons in 1894, and was still operating in 1900.¹⁵⁶

Some extraction of fuller's earth is known to have taken place at Clarendon, the value in 1651 being £2 p.a.,¹⁵⁷ but archaeological evidence has been lost beneath later changes in land-use.¹⁵⁸ In the late 17th century John Aubrey recorded that fuller's earth from the park was of high quality.¹⁵⁹ The industry continued into the 18th century. In 1710 Peter Bathurst threatened to withhold the product from Wilton clothmakers in his attempt to win the parliamentary seat of Wilton, and the 1773 lease for Brick Kiln farm referred to fuller's earth pits.¹⁶⁰

SOCIAL HISTORY

Social character

The medieval royal court was peripatetic, and even those monarchs who made frequent visits to Clarendon Park would have spent most of the year elsewhere. Nevertheless, an estate such as Clarendon required year-round management to preserve the deer and timber. Park lodges, probably for resident keepers or other officials, are recorded from the 14th century onwards.¹⁶¹ The deer were not only kept for the hunting pleasure of the court when in residence, but were gifted by the monarch when in residence, or occasionally by park officials, not always legitimately, when he was not. Patronage was an important activity

¹⁵² TNA, E 317/Wilts.30.

¹⁵³ *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl.*, 8 Apr. 1765, 3.

¹⁵⁴ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 142.

¹⁵⁵ *Salisbury Times*, 1 Dec. 1883, 4.

¹⁵⁶ *Salisbury Times*, 25 May 1894, 1; 7 Dec. 1900, 1; James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 154.

¹⁵⁷ TNA, E 317/Wilts.26.

¹⁵⁸ 'English Heritage Survey Grant for Preservation. Clarendon Park, Salisbury, Wiltshire', iii.

¹⁵⁹ Aubrey, *Aubrey's Natural History of Wiltshire*, 35.

¹⁶⁰ *VCH Wilts.*, VI, 26; James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 118, citing WSA, 130/16.

¹⁶¹ James and Gerrard, 64, 66.

for Clarendon.¹⁶² Gift-giving also went in the opposite direction when the king and other nobility visited the park, as the city of Salisbury sought to ingratiate itself with the court. In 1409 the city gave 40 marks to the king and other lords with him at Clarendon and Salisbury, and in 1414 sent bread to the duke of York when he came to Clarendon.¹⁶³

Although royal visits to Clarendon Park and the palace site declined under Yorkist and Tudor monarchs, the park continued to be managed as an economic asset, and this meant the continued occupancy of the park lodges by keepers. By the later 16th century these were appointed by the earls of Pembroke, whose seat was at nearby Wilton. The earls held the hereditary posts of Warden and Keeper from 1553, and of Chief Ranger from 1606.¹⁶⁴ There were five keepers (four in each quarter division, and one at the Out Lodge). A survey of 1650 mentions a sub-ranger appointed by Pembroke, and the post of 'bowbearer', probably an honorary post. The office of woodward is mentioned in the same survey, and the curious office of 'wontodge' or killing of moles, but not all these posts were necessarily resident in the park.¹⁶⁵

The influence of the Pembrokes ceased after Clarendon Park was taken into Parliamentary hands following the execution of Charles I in 1649. It was divided into separate divisions and sold, but any influence this had on the occupancy and social structure of the estate was short-lived, as it returned to royal control after the restoration of Charles II in 1660. Little is known of the social structure of the estate in the late 17th century, although neither Albemarle nor the earls of Clarendon appear to have been resident. Under the ownership of the Bathursts in the 18th century the estate was developed into a large agricultural estate worked from tenanted farmsteads. These farmsteads and other dwellings were on the periphery of the estate; the residents seemingly identifying more with their nearest parish than with the occupants of the remote mansion house on the estate itself.¹⁶⁶ By 1800 the Bathursts had effectively cut themselves off from the surrounding communities, building gatehouses to control access to the estate, and managing the estate itself through an agent. For some 30 years after the death of Peter Bathurst in 1801 the mansion house

¹⁶² TNA, E 32/267, m. 8; Richardson, *Forest, Park and Palace of Clarendon*, 142; James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 94.

¹⁶³ D.R. Carr (ed.), *The First General Entry Book of the City of Salisbury 1387–1452* (WRS 54, 2001), 35–6 (no. 77), 64 (no. 140).

¹⁶⁴ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 97, 100, 119.

¹⁶⁵ TNA, E 317/Wilts.27.

¹⁶⁶ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 121–2, 129.

was unoccupied, and even after Frederick Hutchinson Hervey-Bathurst took up residence in the newly-restored house after his marriage in 1832, it remained private and exclusive.¹⁶⁷ The value of the estate to its 19th and 20th century owners lay partly in its social and recreational value, not only in its economic productivity.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, whether or not the owners were in residence in the mansion house, the farmsteads and estate cottages on the estate peripheries were home to a population of agricultural workers, who, as their 17th forebears had done, looked to their nearest parish for social contact and recreation.¹⁶⁹

Communal life

Despite the isolation in which the owners and tenants of Clarendon House chose to live, they occasionally opened the mansion house grounds for a day of festivities for tenants and employees, or for local clubs and societies. A review of volunteer rifle corps, followed by dinner enjoyed by 600 persons, was held in 1860.¹⁷⁰ In 1887 Sir Frederick and Lady Bathurst provided food, sports and dancing for the tenants and employees.¹⁷¹ A 'harvest home' celebration for tenants and estate workers, apparently an annual event, was provided by Charles Rose, the tenant of Clarendon House, in 1898.¹⁷² In 1901 the Gartons entertained children from church groups in Alderbury and Pitton, with dancing for adults in the evening.¹⁷³

Evidence of social and sporting clubs is limited, although in 1884 a Clarendon cricket club was reported as being re-established, after some years of inactivity.¹⁷⁴ The 'Clarendon Club', presumably a social club as it was suggested it might arrange a fund-raising whist drive, is known in 1951.¹⁷⁵

There is little evidence of any other communal activity on the estate or within the civil parish. In 1973 the parish council arranged for a mobile library to visit the estate yard

¹⁶⁷ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 131, 139, 145, 147.

¹⁶⁸ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 186–9.

¹⁶⁹ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 152.

¹⁷⁰ *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl.*, 6 Oct. 1860, 5.

¹⁷¹ *Salisbury Times*, 13 Aug. 1887, 8.

¹⁷² *Salisbury Times*, 16 Sept. 1898, 8.

¹⁷³ *Salisbury Times*, 21 June 1901, 8.

¹⁷⁴ *Salisbury Times*, 23 Aug. 1884, 6.

¹⁷⁵ WSA, 3539/5/2, 41 (30 May 1951).

once a fortnight.¹⁷⁶ There is no record of any alehouse within Clarendon Park, but in 1756 one man was recorded as a licensed victualler.¹⁷⁷

Crimes and misdemeanours

The deer, timber and other assets of the park were an abiding temptation to the population living outside the park, and there are numerous accounts of poaching and theft in the historic record from the medieval period onwards. In the 14th century, illegal felling and carrying away of wood and timber by various persons were recorded by the 1330 forest eyre, including one man who took away 20 cartloads of underwood, and two other men who felled and carried away 28 oaks.¹⁷⁸ The 1355 forest eyre rolls record several instances of illegal hunting of deer and the taking of wood and timber.¹⁷⁹ The thefts were not limited to the local poor; the rector of Winterslow was implicated by having allowed his greyhounds to be used, and some of the deer poaching was by persons acting on behalf of the prior of nearby Ivychurch monastery. The bishop of Salisbury and the prioress of Amesbury were among those who received stolen deer, though it is not clear if they were aware of its provenance.¹⁸⁰ In 1487 one man was accused of poaching rabbits and another of having entered the park with his greyhounds to hunt deer.¹⁸¹

In the closing years of Elizabeth I's reign, it was alleged that the keepers of Clarendon Park had committed great 'spoils' in the park, apparently relating to the woodland. In 1599 they were ordered to pay the queen the sum of £163, and a further sum of £326.¹⁸² The case appears to have been a lengthy one; in 1604 it was submitted that the offenders had been unjustly accused. It appeared that as a result of a great drought, c.1595, some of the rabbits in the park had got into the coppices and damaged the trees. Attempts were made to destroy the rabbits, but malicious persons had informed against the keepers, and witnesses had perjured themselves.¹⁸³ In 1612 it was alleged that the keepers and

¹⁷⁶ WSA, 3539/5/2, 144 (16 Aug. 1973).

¹⁷⁷ WSA, A1/325/14.

¹⁷⁸ TNA, E 32/207.

¹⁷⁹ TNA, E 32/267. Some of the offences dealt with by the forest eyre of 1355 had taken place as far back as 1348–9.

¹⁸⁰ TNA, E 32/267, mm. 5a, 5d, 8, 9a.

¹⁸¹ TNA, DL 39/2/20.

¹⁸² TNA, E 123/24; E 124/3.

¹⁸³ TNA, E 146/3/1

woodwards of Clarendon Park, then still a royal hunting ground, had illegally sold timber from the estate.¹⁸⁴

The estate placed announcements in the local press in the 18th century warning local inhabitants against trespassing in the park in search of nuts. The great numbers of people were causing damage to the woods and hedges; in 1799 an alleged 200 to 300 persons a day were entering the park to go nutting.¹⁸⁵

Offences continued into the 19th century. In 1884 a man was fined for trespass and in 1903 two men fined for the same offence; both offences involved hunting rabbits.¹⁸⁶ Two men were fined in 1885 for stealing 'ash sticks'; probably coppice wood.¹⁸⁷

Education

There was no school at Clarendon Park. Children living on the estate would have attended schools in the neighbouring parishes. The exception was during the Second World War, when 40 children evacuated from a Portsmouth school with their teachers and were billeted on the estate. Parts of Clarendon House were used as classrooms, and the school was still there the following spring.¹⁸⁸ A locally-organised system had been set up by 1945 to transport those children living at Queen Manor, King Manor, Savages and Fussell's farms to school, but it was an unsatisfactory arrangement as it took the person providing the transport away from his farming work. The parish council resolved to ask the local education authority for alternative transport, but the outcome was not recorded.¹⁸⁹

Social welfare

As an extra-parochial area, there was no vestry to provide poor relief in Clarendon Park, and no charitable institutions are recorded. In times of scarcity, trespasses in the park may have increased by those living in neighbouring parishes. During a time of plague in Salisbury, c.1627, the poor of the city came into the park, probably in search of firewood.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁴ Bettey (ed.), *Wiltshire Farming in the Seventeenth Century*, 311–12.

¹⁸⁵ *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl.*, 25 Aug. 1766, 2; 16 Sept. 1799, 1.

¹⁸⁶ *Salisbury Times*, 6 Dec. 1884, 2; 6 Feb. 1903, 7.

¹⁸⁷ *Salisbury Times*, 26 Dec. 1885, 2.

¹⁸⁸ *Hampshire Telegraph & Post*, 8 Mar. 1940, 16.

¹⁸⁹ WSA, 3529/5/2, 15–16.

¹⁹⁰ TNA, E 178/4728, m. 2.

The high price of corn and bread saw unrest throughout England in the autumn of 1766. Colonel Bathurst of Clarendon Park was among those who made cheap grain available to alleviate the sufferings of the poor in his neighbourhood.¹⁹¹

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

As Clarendon Park was extra-parochial, there was no parish church. Inhabitants of Clarendon Park probably attended the church at Alderbury, before the founding of Ivychurch (or Ederose) Priory in the 13th century. It is possible that the church they attended was a dependent chapel of Alderbury, on the same site as the later priory. The priory chapel, which was situated just outside the park itself, had the status and function of a parish church for the inhabitants of Clarendon Forest.¹⁹²

Three chapels are known to have been attached to Clarendon Palace; the king's chapel, the queen's chapel, and the chapel of All Saints. A Romanesque king's chapel is known prior to construction beginning on the new king's chapel in 1234. This new chapel was larger, indicating that a more sizable space was needed for ceremonial functions, but it remained a private chapel.¹⁹³ The king's chapel featured a magnificent circular tiled pavement of c.1244.¹⁹⁴

The queen's chapel would have been within the queen's private apartments in the eastern range of the palace complex; its precise location is unknown, but its existence is confirmed by documentary sources. A chapel for the queen is known by 1235. Its decorations may have included wall paintings depicting the life of St Katherine, and references to a chapel of St Katherine at Clarendon probably refer to the queen's chapel.¹⁹⁵

The chapel of All Saints is known by 1235–6, when repairs were made to it, but, as with the queen's chapel, its precise location is unknown, but was likely to have been within

¹⁹¹ *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl.*, 22 Sept. 1766, 3. However, only a month previously he had placed an advertisement warning people not to enter the park to go nutting, see *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl.*, 25 Aug. 1766, 2.

¹⁹² *VCH Wilts.*, III, 289; C. Wood, 'The Chapels of the Royal Palace at Clarendon, Wiltshire', *Southern History* (2024, forthcoming); James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 40. On Ivychurch Priory, see *VCH Wilts.*, III, 289–95.

¹⁹³ C. Wood, 'The Chapels of the Royal Palace at Clarendon, Wiltshire', *Southern History* (2024, forthcoming); Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, vol. 5, 152–3, citing Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. III.

¹⁹⁴ James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 82–3.

¹⁹⁵ C. Wood, 'The Chapels of the Royal Palace at Clarendon, Wiltshire', *Southern History* (2024, forthcoming); Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, vol. 5, 152–3, citing Pipe Roll, 20 Hen. III.

the Great Courtyard of the palace complex. It appears to have functioned as a chapel for staff and visitors to the palace site, at least when the royal court was in residence, served by canons from Ivychurch Priory who received payments from the Crown for their services. The existence of a font for baptisms suggests a parochial function outside of royal visits.¹⁹⁶ The canons probably did not minister to the king or queen, who would have had their own chaplains, and their importance declined from the 13th century onwards as monarchs came to favour new orders of friars, but the Ivychurch canons continued to minister at Clarendon. In 1355 it was recorded that the canons of Ivychurch priory were to celebrate mass at Clarendon, presumably when the royal party were in residence.¹⁹⁷ References to the chapel of All Saints are found in 1461–72, but by this time Clarendon Palace was falling out of favour with late medieval kings.¹⁹⁸ However, the priory church retained its status as a parish church until the dissolution of the monasteries.¹⁹⁹

After the dissolution, inhabitants of the park probably attended their nearest parish church. The park remained extra-parochial, although in 1651 the park was described as being in the parishes of Alderbury, St Martin's in Salisbury and Laverstock, and part in no parish, but relating to the cathedral church of Salisbury.²⁰⁰ It is unclear why parts of the park were said to be in parochial areas, but this may relate to lands outwith the park pale.²⁰¹

Although the liberty of Clarendon Park was extra-parochial, it was still liable for tithes payable to the dean and chapter of Salisbury cathedral. The king had granted tithes to the Duke of Albemarle in 1664, which by 1679 formed part of the estate of Henry, earl of Clarendon.²⁰² These tithes appear to have been separate from those tithes on the estate payable to the dean and chapter of Salisbury cathedral. In 1687 the dean and chapter leased their tithes, excepting the tithe of wood, for 21 years to Henry, earl of Clarendon.²⁰³ This may have been a long-standing arrangement, as it was recorded again in 1809, when a 21 year lease was granted, with the tithe of wood excepted.²⁰⁴ The tithe award of 1847,

¹⁹⁶ Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, vol. 5, 152–3, citing Pipe Roll, 20 Hen. III; C. Wood, 'The Chapels of the Royal Palace at Clarendon, Wiltshire', *Southern History* (2024, forthcoming).

¹⁹⁷ TNA, E 32/267, m. 18a.

¹⁹⁸ TNA, E 32/267, m. 18a; C. Wood, 'The Chapels of the Royal Palace at Clarendon, Wiltshire', *Southern History* (2024, forthcoming), citing TNA, E 101/542/20 Account 1461–72.

¹⁹⁹ *VCH Wilts.*, III, 289.

²⁰⁰ TNA, E 317/Wilts.26.

²⁰¹ See Landownership.

²⁰² WSA, 303/2.

²⁰³ WSA, 212B/1879.

²⁰⁴ WSA, 280/73; 727/8/12.

confirmed in 1851, made a tithe rent charge of £760 to the dean and chapter of Salisbury Cathedral for great and small tithes, and £40 for tithes on the coppice wood.²⁰⁵ The tithe situation seems to have been complex, as farms on the estate were advertised to let as being free from tithes and, as Clarendon Park was extra-parochial, free of any church taxes (though the secular poor rate still had to be paid).²⁰⁶

Nonconformity and Roman Catholicism

No nonconformist congregations or Roman Catholics are known at Clarendon Park, but nonconformists did live on the estate. James Warren and his wife, who had married in 1854 at the Congregational Church in Endless Street, Salisbury, were living at Ashley Hill farm by 1904.²⁰⁷ At Mrs Warren's death in 1908 she was described as a loyal member of the United Methodist Church. In 1904 the Warrens' son, E.G. Warren of Dog Kennel farm, had refused to pay that part of the poor rate levied for education purposes.²⁰⁸ This would appear to relate to the educational rate levied under the Education Act of 1902, which went towards the maintenance of the Anglican National Schools, but not towards the nonconformist British Schools. Many nonconformists refused on principle to pay the rate.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Manorial

As a royal estate, medieval Clarendon Park was well-documented, but no records of a manorial court are known to exist. A swainmote, or forest court, is known by 1487 and may still have been meeting c.1650; its business included matters relating to the park.²⁰⁹

Parish government and officers

Clarendon Park was an extra-parochial liberty until 1858, when it became a civil parish. Minute books survive from 1874.²¹⁰ It was part of Salisbury Rural District Council (1894–

²⁰⁵ Sandell (ed.), *Wiltshire Tithe Apportionments*, 37–8.

²⁰⁶ See for example the advertisements in the *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl.*, 17 Feb. 1766, 2; 14 Feb. 1780, 3.

²⁰⁷ *Salisbury Times*, 15 Apr. 1904, 8.

²⁰⁸ *Salisbury Times*, 10 Apr. 1908, 8; 18 Mar. 1904.

²⁰⁹ TNA, DL 39/2/20, m[?16], m[?16]d; E 317/Wilts.27

²¹⁰ WSA, 3539/5/1–3.

1934) and then of Salisbury and Wilton Rural District Council (1934–74). For poor law administration it was part of the Alderbury Hundred Poor Law Union (1835–95) and the Salisbury Poor Law Union (1895–1930).²¹¹

Given the nature of the civil parish, whose boundaries were largely those of the estate, little business needed to be conducted at the parish meetings, usually held annually, other than appointing two overseers and a poor law guardian.²¹² From 1880 a waywarden was appointed.²¹³ In 1894 it was recorded that, owing to the passing of the Local Government Act, no guardian or waywarden was to be appointed.²¹⁴ The appointments of overseers continued from 1894, and in addition a representative was appointed to the rural district council.²¹⁵ In 1902 it was agreed to appoint an assistant overseer at a salary of £10 annually.²¹⁶ The office of overseer was abolished under the Rating and Valuation Act of 1925, though this was not recorded in the minutes until 1927.²¹⁷

A parish meeting was held in 1932 to debate a proposed amalgamation with Alderbury; for the first time women were recorded as attending a parish meeting.²¹⁸ Up to this point Clarendon Park, having a population of under 300 but over 100, had been designated as a parish meeting, rather than a parish council, but the threat of the proposed merger with Alderbury resulted in the parish meeting deciding to exercise its right to become a parish council, which took place in 1933. Five councillors were elected unopposed.²¹⁹ The first woman councillor, elected in 1937, was Evelyn Christie-Miller, widow of Sydney Richardson Christie-Miller (1885–1931) and mother of Samuel Vandeleur Christie-Miller (1911–68).²²⁰ She chaired the parish council meetings during the Second World War when her son, also a parish councillor, was absent on war service.²²¹

²¹¹ Youngs, *Admin Units*, 535, 527.

²¹² WSA, 3539/5/1.

²¹³ WSA, 3539/5/1.

²¹⁴ WSA, 3539/5/1, 20 Mar. 1894. The minutes refer to it as the Parish Council Act.

²¹⁵ WSA, 3539/5/1, 4 Dec. 1894.

²¹⁶ WSA, 3539/5/1, 26 Mar. 1902.

²¹⁷ WSA, 3539/5/1, 16 Mar. 1927.

²¹⁸ WSA, 3539/5/1, 12 July 1932.

²¹⁹ WSA, 3539/5/2, 22 Nov. 1932, 20 Mar. 1933.

²²⁰ WSA, 3539/5/2, 15 Mar. 1937. On Christie-Miller family relationships, see James and Gerrard, *Clarendon*, 159, 161.

²²¹ WSA, 3539/5/2, 1, 3, 6, 8, 11.

Parish council meetings remained infrequent in the years after the Second World War, often taking place only once a year.²²² These gradually became more frequent as development schemes and road improvements encroached on the parish. A possible encampment for travellers at Petersfinger, within the civil parish, was debated in 1971, and a proposed by-pass at Alderbury was considered later the same year.²²³ Construction works on the by-pass in 1977 caused concern, though by 1978 the parish council could minute that it had been a great improvement,²²⁴ although there were still concerns regarding difficulties in moving cattle safely along the new road.²²⁵ Industrial and commercial developments along the A36 where it ran within the parish were debated from the 1970s onwards.²²⁶ The number of councillors remained at five in 2023.²²⁷

²²² WSA, 3539/5/2.

²²³ WSA, 3539/5/2, 112, 114.

²²⁴ WSA, 3539/5/3, mins. 11 Mar. 1977, 13 Oct. 1978.

²²⁵ WSA, 3539/5/3, mins. 5 July 1977, 11 Nov. 1977, 8 Feb. 1979, 2 Nov. 1979.

²²⁶ WSA, 3539/5/2; 3539/5/3.

²²⁷ <https://clarendonparkpc.org.uk/council-members/> (accessed 3 July 2023).